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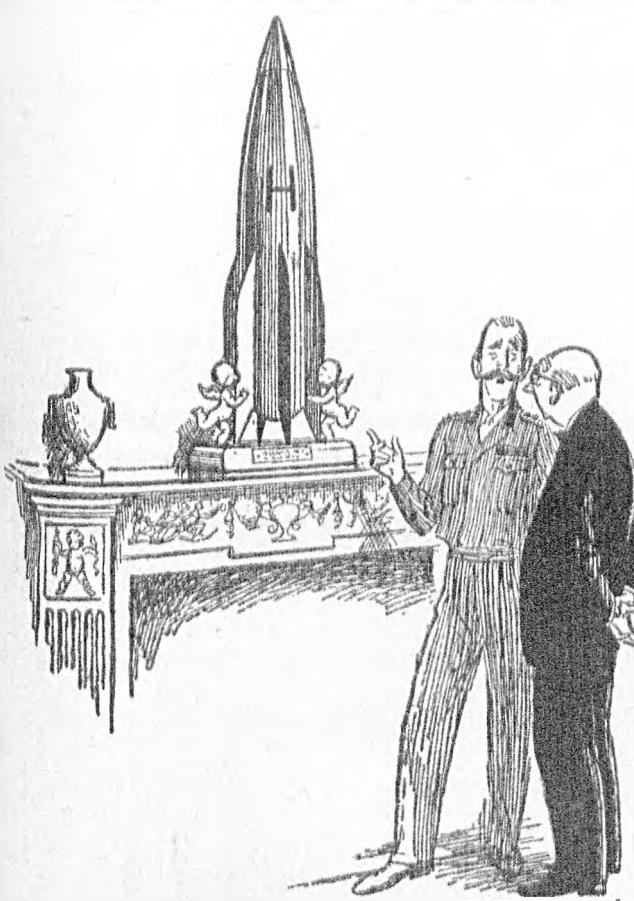
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which had been received from Bechuanaland.)

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,052 August 24, 1956 4d. (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts)



"Silver wedding present, old boy. We thought it rather less dangerous than a clock."

FRENCH ANTI-WAR PAPER SUPPRESSED

Third Way Council protests

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

LE LIBERTAIRE, the organ of the French Federation Communiste Libertaire, has been suppressed because of its opposition to the war in Algeria. This was reported to the International Council of the Third Way Movement at its meeting in Cardiff recently.

The Federation is a strongly anti-Stalinist organisation which has groups in France, Italy and Switzerland. It stands for libertarian principles, as its name implies.

The French Communist Party is also opposing the Algerian war and this opposition is, of course, consistently expressed in L'Humanite, their organ.

However, the present French Government under the Socialist Premier, Guy Mollet, has under L'Humanite alone while this smaller anti-Stalinist organ is not only suppressed but the organisation is taken to destroy it as an organisation.

The offending issue of Le Libertaire was that of June 7. Action was not taken by the police, however, until more than a month later, when not only was the issue for June 7 seized, but all the stocks of subsequent and previous issues. The occasion was also taken to search the offices of Le Libertaire and the homes of leading members.

Although L'Humanite is left alone, there is considerable suppression in France in regard to outspokenness on the position in Algeria. An issue of France-Observateur was suppressed some time ago, although this journal was too influential to be given the treatment by the police that Le Libertaire has received. M. Claude Bourdet, the Editor, was arrested, however, but pressure on the Government secured his release after a day or two in prison.

The Third Way has written to the French Minister expressing its "deep regret" at the suppression of Le Libertaire.

The letter continues: "We note that while the occasion for this

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BECHUANALAND

The accuracy of many of the allegations in the series of articles in Peace News for May 25, June 1 and June 8 has been questioned. The normal procedure would be to give an opportunity to the other section in the Bechuanaland to publish their version in Peace News.

We feel, however, that this course would result in a perpetuation of friction and a continuation of controversy in Bechuanaland.

In the article we have therefore decided to withdraw from circulation the pamphlet in which the articles have been reproduced.

Amongst the setbacks he numbered the walk-outs from the UN of France and South Africa; and the failure to discuss either self-determination for Cyprus, or the ending of the conflict in Algeria.

Three items listed as "Issues with no end in sight" were the plight of a quarter of a million European refugees from Iron Curtain

SUEZ: OUR LOST OPPORTUNITY

Moral leadership thrown away for appearance of power

By ROY SHERWOOD

WHATEVER the precise wording of the final Suez Conference resolution, it is reasonably certain that the resolution will be one which President Nasser would not accept in free negotiation.

The danger of further complications, therefore, remains.

As recent despatches from Cairo indicate, President Nasser would probably accept a consultative international committee of maritime powers, authorised to supervise that a purely Egyptian management kept the canal up to the standard of efficiency required by present and future needs, and whose other duty would be to report to the United Nations on any dispute which might arise regarding passage dues or other matters of direct concern to the users of the canal.

But he remains firm in his rejection of an international management over a "nationalised waterway within Egyptian territory" and in his insistence that the demand for such a management constitutes a clear encroachment on Egyptian sovereignty.

It is surely uncontested that purely Egyptian management and complete freedom from even such supervision through a consultative international committee as President Nasser is reported to be willing to accept, are Egypt's plain reversionary rights, falling due in 1968.

NO THREATS OF FORCE

The two new facts in the situation are: 1. President Nasser has anticipated the maturing date of Egypt's reversionary rights; 2. the greater number of the powers assembled in the London Conference want an arrangement under which Egypt shall not enter into full possession of her reversion even after the maturity date. Both therefore want something not provided for when the original bargain was made.

I can imagine no clearer case for the absolute necessity of give-and-take negotiation and the equally absolute condemnation of the use of force, or threats of force, in order to impose one-sided conditions.

Walter Lippman, the widely syndicated American commentator, wrote in the early days of the crisis that the British evacuation of the canal zone had marked the end of an epoch, and that it now looked as if France and Britain wanted to bring it back. Such criticism is plainly justified.

Ever since the first moment, France and Britain have given the clear impression that they were aiming at a direct humiliation of President

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*It is a pity that this commentary must be concluded before the London Conference has run its full course; the more so because the precise wording of the resolution with which it is to end, and the number of countries supporting that resolution without suggested amendments or possible reservations, may to some extent depend on one or two of the talks which are still going on behind the scenes.

World survey of human rights

CITING both "slight advances and set-backs" to human rights, the International League for the Rights of Man, a United Nations non-governmental agency, on July 31 sent to the Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold, its annual report, entitled "Human Rights and the United Nations."

In a general survey of the last year, the League's Chairman, Roger Baldwin, said that the last year had seen a decline in international tensions, and a retreat from the prospect of world war. These developments had had their impact on human rights.

After stating that the ugly practices of forced labour appeared to have been modified under UN pressures, Mr. Baldwin warned against over-optimism, pointing out that out of the 140 governmental units in the world, 53 were clearly dictatorships, 34 were not far removed, and only 53 could be said to be democracies in which political opposition to the government is tolerated.

In such a world the UN could not be expected to rise above the practices of the majority of its member states.

BALANCE SHEET

Nevertheless the admission of 16 new countries made the UN representative of almost all the governments in the world, and provided opportunities to reach new countries in exerting pressures for human rights.

In a "balance sheet" of human rights at the UN, Roger Baldwin cited 14 slight advances, five backward steps, and three issues with no end in sight.

The slight advances included the breaking of the deadlock to the admission of new states; the US action in the Trusteeship Council favouring timetables for the progress of some trust territories towards independence; the holding of the Togoland plebiscite; and the insistence of the High Commissioner for European refugees not to yield to the Soviet demand for the enforced repatriation of refugees.

Amongst the setbacks he numbered the walk-outs from the UN of France and South Africa; and the failure to discuss either self-determination for Cyprus, or the ending of the conflict in Algeria.

Three items listed as "Issues with no end in sight" were the plight of a quarter of a million European refugees from Iron Curtain

DEPUTATION AT FOREIGN OFFICE

IN his broadcast on the Suez Canal crisis, the Prime Minister expressed the belief that he had the support of all listeners for the Government's policy.

The Peace Pledge Union was quick to point out the error of that assumption in the letter which was sent to him, and by a request to the Foreign Secretary to receive a deputation.

Although Mr. Selwyn Lloyd was himself too busy, he arranged for Mr. Dodds Parker, his Under-Secretary, with special concern for Middle-East affairs, to receive the deputation on his behalf at 10.30 a.m. on Wednesday, August 15.

The deputation consisted of Emrys Hughes, MP, Fenner Brockway, MP, Vera Brittain, Kathleen Lonsdale, Hugh Brock, Sybil Morrison, Allen Skinner and Stuart Morris.

Lord Darien, Sybil Thorndike and Michael Tippett would have been present had no previous engagements prevented their coming to the Foreign Office.

SUSPEND MOBILISATION

The deputation was introduced by Emrys Hughes who thanked the Under-Secretary for sparing the time to meet them and explained that their main purpose was to offer some positive suggestion for dealing with the emergency, and he emphasised that though the PPU dissociated itself from aggressive nationalism it was essential to relate the immediate situation to the needs of the peoples of the Middle East.

Speaking on behalf of the PPU Stuart Morris said that although they were critical of the way in which the Government was handling the situation and of a policy which seemed to belie the Government's desire to find a peaceful solution, they desired to concentrate on emphasising the futility of the use of force and on the need for making real negotiations possible.

Since the Conference was to meet without the representative of Egypt, it should be regarded as no more than a preliminary attempt to produce a possible plan which must then be discussed with the Egyptian Government in a spirit of negotiation and not of dictation.

They suggested that to make real negotiations possible the Government should suspend mobilisation and further military precautions; announce their renunciation of the use of force to compel Egyptian acceptance of any proposals, and inform Colonel Nasser that any decision reached in London would be subject to negotiations with him, in which the legitimate needs of the Egyptian people would be given equal consideration with the importance of the Canal to world trade.

They would further suggest that future talks should be held in a neutral country and convened by someone not immediately involved in the dispute.

CHANCE FOR MORAL LEAD

Vera Brittain saw in the present situation the opportunity for the British Government to give a moral lead and show by reference of the dispute to the United Nations or the World Court a readiness to submit its case to the judgment of others.

Kathleen Lonsdale was disturbed that the announcement of the British test of four H-bombs should have been made immediately before the conference. The art of negotiation was to make it easy for opponents to act reasonably.

During her world tours she had found that Asian people were far more influenced by a

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Members of the Deputation, left to right: Hugh Brock, Editor of the Peace News, Fenner Brockway, MP, Dame Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, Stuart Morris, Miss Sybil Morrison, Emrys Hughes, MP, Miss Vera Brittain and J. Allen Skinner.

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THE PRESS IN THE ATOMIC AGE

THIS most important thing to note throughout the Suez crisis is the appalling levity of the Press. This comment is not confined to the "popular" Press, for, in its own particular way, The Times has shown itself as lacking in the sense of responsibility called for in the nuclear age as its brasher brother, the Daily Mail.

A stupendous event marks off the present era from all previous ones. The atom has been split. Nuclear energy can now be released. The first uses found for this new immense power have been for destruction.

Eleven years ago we were given two tiny samples of the extent of the destruction possible through this new weapon: two small bombs brought death to 300,000 people.

Since then the number of such bombs in existence has multiplied into many thousands. Their destructive power has increased: the H-bomb may have a destructive power 2,500 times that of the bomb dropped on innocent victims in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

A single aeroplane on a single journey can today carry a cargo of greater destructive capacity than carried by all the flights of all nations in the six years of World War II.

This destructive power is available to the Government of the leading Power in each of the two opposed blocs in the world today.



THE realisation of the horror of the threat, produced by this stupendous change in the world situation, brought together at Geneva in July, 1955, the heads of the leading nations involved in the world conflict.

All agreed that, despite many outstanding points of disagreement between them, there was one point of agreement which outweighed everything else: they could no longer contemplate resort to war in any circumstances as a means of reaching a decision upon any matter in dispute.

This conclusion was forced upon them because the nature of preparation for war in the nuclear age means that if ever again war is resorted to, it will mean the threat—and if a world war, the certainty—of universal destruction.

In such a war there could be no victor. All would suffer the common defeat of the human race.



IT is now very clear that as this new situation dictates there must be no resort to war, so it also rules out threats to resort to war.

Threats must either be carried out or impotently swallowed. In an age of possible nuclear war, it is tempting fate to engage in threats which the opponent knows, if carried out, would be a means to our own destruction.

All who have regard for the good name of Britain must regret that its Government, only one year after war had been set aside by the Powers at Geneva, is the first Power to threaten a resort to war.

It is no answer to say that Britain's interests—even its vital interests—have been attacked.

The decision at Geneva was not that no nation would in the future take action detrimental to the interests of another nation, but that, whether this happened or not, war could no longer be conceived as a method of dealing with such a situation.



MUCH as we may regret Britain's reaction in the Suez situation—its continued thinking in militaristic terms, supposedly abandoned at Geneva—it is not really surprising.

With its traditional assumptions destroyed, the British Government has, nevertheless, not achieved the fundamental reorientation in its policy clearly needed. It therefore automatically reacted to the Suez situation on the traditional lines.

Much more serious, we believe, is the tendency of the British Press to discuss Suez as if the events were taking place in 1936 instead of 1956 and nothing had happened in the world to impel them to do otherwise.

The worst example was probably the Daily Mail, which "always and at once puts the interests of our own country first." But the same monstrous levity has been seen throughout practically the whole Conservative Press.

Even that section of the Press not setting up a war-like clamour has been inclined to discuss the issue in terms that show no recognition that we are living in an era in which war is likely to become nuclear war with its threatened doom to a tolerable future for the human race.

THE RACE PACE QUICKENS

BASIL DELAINE'S CENTRAL AFRICAN COMMENTARY

is it the majority feeling among Africans generally?

But there are black politicians who want no part in Federation. The idea of multi-racial government appeals them.

The only concession they would give the European would be to allow him to stay in the country with no franchise rights.

This school of thought is most prevalent in Nyasaland. In particular it is the thought in the minds of Nyasaland African Congress leaders.

But the Congress in another part of the Federation has made a statement which bears no relation to this feeling.

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, as President of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress, has shaken Central Africa by denouncing the "strong arm" tactics of some of his members and pledging Congress to constitutional practice and the working for better race relations.

The statement was issued following a meeting with Unofficial Members of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council—the first meeting of its kind ever held.

It was arranged by the Member for African Education and Social Services, Mr. Harry Franklin, an astute European politician and journalist



IN PERSPECTIVE

THE plan put forward by Mr. Dulles on behalf of the Western group of Powers for the control and direction of the Suez Canal would be an admirable one if it were proposed unconnected with a dispute between a nation that has only recently achieved independence and the Power from which that independence had to be won.

It would have been very different if, for instance, this plan had been presented by Britain to the world between the wars as a way of bringing a means of transit of international importance under international control, and thus enhancing the influence of the League of Nations at a time when this was badly needed.

If, say, the Labour Government of 1924 or 1929 had done this, it would have been impossible not to have seen that here was real sincerity in an endeavour to increase the influence of the new international organ in which such hopes had been placed.

The effect on future history might have been very great and beneficial.

Although it would have been a good thing if, after its newly achieved independence, the Egyptian Government had voluntarily brought forward a plan, it is obvious that Britain has no right to expect from Egypt what it never even contemplated itself when effective control of the Canal was in its own hands.

It can certainly not be anticipated that Egypt, with all the touchiness of a nation newly free from imperialist control, will take kindly to a plan arising out of a bad-tempered dispute and following threats of force.

Toward a solution

FOR that reason we hope that the more tentative plan put forward by Mr. Krishna Menon will be seriously entertained and that the degree of elasticity left in the Dulles plan may perhaps be used to arrive at a compromise between the two.

In our view the important thing in getting a satisfactory settlement on the issue of the Canal is to get rid of the atmosphere of urgency. The need for a final settlement in this matter is not at all an urgent one.

The atmosphere of urgency derives from the fact that the British Government lost its head when confronted with Colonel Nasser's sudden action and the manner of its announcement.

There is reason to hope that the British Government sees things a good deal more soberly now and it would be better if the matter could ultimately be dealt with by some other conference than the present which has been brought together in an atmosphere of panic.

As a matter of principle the final arrangement for the control of the Suez should not be formulated in isolation from the general question of the control of all waterways of international importance.

If there is to be genuine internationalisation it should be applied not only to the Suez but also to other waterways such as the Panama Canal and the Dardanelles and Bosphorus.

Such an approach is the only way in which the dealings with Egypt can

be something of a mystery man in the Territory.

As an observer who is an acquaintance of both Nkumbula and Franklin, I regard this meeting as being the most encouraging news so far this year on the explosive racial front of the Federation.

Nkumbula said that there were many things that Congress had to do.

"We must control our members and our branches better. We must control and educate on better lines our extremists."

"On both sides, both African and European, there is room for better understanding."

An interesting sidelight to this development is that Franklin is President of the Multi-Racial Club in Lusaka—the club which recently caused such an uproar by accepting Nkumbula as a member.

Turned away

Coming back to Nyasaland I have to report a sort of colour bar in reverse.

The night before this commentary was written there occurred what must have been the worst road accident the country has had for years.

At an ill-lit level crossing in Blantyre, the country's pint-sized commercial capital (the cinema is in the Town Hall), a fast moving lorry full of bricks piled into the back of two stationary cars and a motor-cycle.

A colleague of mine picked up from the wreckage a dazed and dazed European woman and drove

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be relieved of the reproach that they are a continuation of the imperialist

of detail.

There should be the erection of State factories for the development of automation; slum clearances and the rehousing of the people displaced; the construction of new roads and the modernisation of transport; better pensions and social services for the aged; free technical education in every town; and additional new hospitals and the replacing of present badly-sited hospitals.

Unreality

ALL this is, of course, quite a programme, and there is no doubt that £1,000,000,000 per annum could make a sizeable contribution to its fulfilment. By one who holds that total disarmament is impracticable and unreal, however, it needs to be balanced by an indication as to where the cuts in arms are to come from.

Would Mr. Roberts make these cuts in the development of military aircraft? Would he have the Government cut down on its programme for the development of atomic weapons or would he seek a saving by greatly stepping up development here as a means to saving on "conventional" arms?

Would he have Britain cut loose from NATO and economise on the commitments it has entered into in this field?

These are the issues that Mr. Roberts needs to talk about first, which we greatly doubt, there is a reality in his proposals, and not a mere setting out of a number of things that he holds would be desirable and calling it a policy.

Unless Mr. Roberts can propound a radically different conception of foreign policy than that endorsed by the Labour Party there is an obvious unreality in what he is urging; and if he is seeking a new foreign policy he should give its details logical precedence over the provision of better pensions, roads, etc.

Pacifists, who urge the total disarmament that he regards as impracticable, are at least ready to have it understood what they advocate.

A broadcast
NATALIA TROTsky, the widow of Leon Trotsky, who was murdered in August, 1940, on behalf of the Stalin regime, has broadcast to such of the Russian people as can be reached by Radio Liberation.

Rightly she points out that what the present leadership has done in Russia is largely a continuation of the Stalinist method of finding scapegoats for the corruption of the regime, with the serious difference that those who have recently been made the scapegoats have really been guilty of the crimes of which they may have been accused, even though they may have been with the commissars of those who have now charged them.

She is naturally concerned that the Stalin campaign against Trotsky partook of the same character as those against the many others of Stalin's victims who were done to death.

When, however, she implies that the Communist revolution would have taken a fundamentally different turn if the influence of Trotsky could have been made effective, we may be permitted to have our doubts.

That Trotsky was a more attractive figure than Stalin is true, but he was essentially committed to the same type of policy, just as Churchill may be a more attractive figure than Eden without that making any important difference in the line of policy they follow.

True freedom

MRS. TROTsky holds that her husband, with Lenin, acted in complete accordance with the principles of collective leadership within the Party and that moreover they believed in democracy within the Party.

Trotsky was never tested at the centre of power and, although if he had been, it is likely that he would not have developed into the monster that Stalin became, he would equally have been a captive of the policies of the dictatorship of the Party over the people and comparable evils would have developed just as they will under the Khrushchev regime unless the disclosures regarding Stalin are made the starting point for a fundamental political reconstruction.

The right of organised opposition is a main pillar of political freedom. The organised expression of dissident views within the single permitted party would be an advance, but we do not believe political freedom can be halted at that point; true political freedom must inevitably embrace the right to form organised parties and the advocacy of conflicting policies.

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NEXT WEEK

NEXT WEEK an eight-page Peace News will contain special articles in connection with the Trades Union Congress and the Second Annual Youth Conference of the British Council of Churches, both of which open at the end of the month.



We hope to present each of the young men and women at Bristol with an envelope containing a copy of Peace News and an introductory letter from Vera Brittain.

For the TUC at Brighton we shall have an article by Reg. Moss, Member of Parliament for the Meriden. He will be writing on "The Effects on Industry of Unilateral Disarmament."

The cost of distributing the extra copies at Bristol will be £15.

We are relying on supporters of the Peace News Fund—we hope that means every reader of the paper, everywhere—to see that the extra £15 we need for the Bristol distribution is met out of extra contributions; for we hope to announce in a fortnight's time that we have moved well forward in reducing our publishing deficit.

We need £1,041 3s. 0d. by December 31 to meet this year's deficit.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since August 10: £458 8s. 8d.

Total since January 1, 1956: £1,958 17s. 0d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: 10s.; from Newton Abbot, 2s. 6d.; from Whetstone, 5s.; from Weymouth, £10; from Thankful for PN, Southend, 5s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.A.



Poverty-stricken Okinawans try to make a living as more and more land is taken by US military authorities.

SECRETS FROM LOS ALMOS

Peace News Reporter

SANDWICHED into the agenda for the twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the New Mexico Public Health Association was this item:

1.30 p.m.; "Radiological Health," Wright H. Langham, Ph.D., Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, Los Alamos, New Mexico.

He was to be followed by speakers on the health services for American Indians, by a talk from the Chief of the Denver District Food and Drug Administration and a talk on communicable diseases.

A Peace News reader was among those present at the conference. Primarily she had gone to attend the session on Indian Health Services for she had been engaged in combating TB among the Navajo Indians. But what she heard and saw about radiation sent this grey-haired Quaker lady stumbling out of the hall with a redoubtable determination to work for the abolition of war.

This is her story of the lecture as she pieced it together from memory afterwards.

To illustrate his talk to the doctors of New Mexico, the man from Los Alamos had brought along some coloured slides.

There had been an accidental exposure to an atomic explosion.

Silence

The first slide showed an excellent specimen of manhood bare to the waist. There appeared to be severe sunburn in the area exhibited.

Slide two showed the same individual with hands swollen and blisters forming over the torso.

Three showed an advanced state of this condition with the mouth stretched wide open.

Showing the fourth slide, with the mouth stretched wider, the lecturer pointed out that the mucous membrane was destroyed throughout the body so that the interior of the mouth was raw.

The fifth slide showed a condition of death or near to death. The mouth was stretched to its fullest extent. The position of the body showed extreme tension.

Autopsy revealed the vein walls weakened to an extent that they were unable to hold blood. The entire intestinal tract was therefore flooded.

A final slide showed experiments on a mouse. It had died, as had the man, with mouth horribly distorted.

The local press carried extensive reports of the Congress. But not of the session addressed by the man from Los Alamos.

Dr. Langham has since indicated that he can only repeat the talk if it is sponsored by a federal or state organisation.

A MINORITY REPORT

on the PPU Conference

By DICK DARLINGTON

"A ROLLICKING GOOD TIME!" just about sums up the holiday aspect of this Conference. For instance, Minnie Pallister, with one foot cheerfully "in the grave," chased about the countryside in the cars of her "millionaire" friends. Much the same goes for Sybil Morrison, who was often grave without putting her foot in it.

Wallace Hancock, in making a passing reference to the Angels of Mons, nearly raised the roof.

One can only conclude, since Gabriel didn't descend to investigate the clatter, that some weighty Quakers who have accepted honours in an Upper House whispered to Peter that

First thoughts on China

By LESLIE HALE, MP

AT the age of twenty-six I contested my first Parliamentary by-election in Nottingham and there made friends with, and enjoyed the hospitality of, a number of distinguished Jews. It was only when I found myself being privately a little surprised at their charm and their culture that I realised that, up to that time, I had been slightly anti-Semitic. I wondered why.

There were no Jews in my village. I had been brought up in a liberal home. Then I realised that until that time, the only Jews with whom I had an acquaintance were Fagin and Shylock.

A few years ago a very distinguished delegation from Burma were entertained in this country, and I had the privilege of lunching with them.

They were far too courteous to laugh at us but it was possible to detect an occasional unobtrusive smile. They found us a little queer.

The previous evening they had been entertained to the theatre and their hosts had selected "Chu Chin Chow on Ice." I always thought this was a story which had both humour and pathos until I repeated it one day to one of the party's numerous experts on foreign affairs.

RESTRICTIONS

He explained to me "Well you see, Leslie, it's very hot in Burma."

These random reflections arise from the fact that I have accepted the invitation of the Foreign Affairs Institute of the Chinese People's Republic to pay a short visit there this month.

I do not expect to get to know much about a country of six hundred million population in three weeks, but the fact that I am going has already stimulated my interest in Chinese affairs.

They are, of course, a people with a civilisation infinitely more ancient than ours, a people renowned for their courtesy. How much courtesy do they receive here?

China, our ally in the last great war, the most populous country in the world is still not permitted an Ambassador at the Court of St. James.

We still place embargoes upon their trade. Many of these restrictions are holding back the

development of Chinese industrial recovery.

Is there anyone, out of Bedlam who thinks that Chiang Kai-shek is the legitimate ruler of China or that the occupation of Formosa can any longer be justified?

And is there not, in most of our literature and in many journalistic references to the Chinese people a form of subtle depreciation which is to be deplored.

SHED INSULARITY

Somehow we have to shed our insularity. It is not going to be easy. Anyone who has watched the appalling British sabre-rattling over the transference of ownership of shares in the Suez Canal Company must realise that we have still much to learn.

We believe in the United Nations when it suits us.

We go to the International Court when we feel we have a strong case. When we have a bad case we order out the gunboats and then wonder why all the peoples of the world don't seem to love us.

So I leave within a few hours for Pekin, which contains the Forbidden City no longer forbidden, a great town which was described to me as "the most beautiful in the world."

I hope to do no more than to see as much as possible during my stay, to make as many friends as possible, and faithfully to report to Peace News just what I have seen.

The Colonial Office has announced that Messrs. Charles Russell and Company, the Solicitors acting on behalf of the Tribunal appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to enquire into certain matters relating to the Premier of Eastern Nigeria and the African Continental Bank Ltd., have retained Mr. B. J. M. MacKenna, QC, and Mr. W. A. B. Forbes to appear as Counsel for the Tribunal.

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● ON PAGE FIVE

THE OKINAWAN VIEW

THE land problem of Okinawa has again come into the limelight with the publication of the report of the Price Investigative Sub-Committee sent there from the United States.

A total of 42,000 acres, or approximately 12 per cent of the total area of the Okinawan Islands has been requisitioned by the US Forces. The dissatisfaction of the Okinawan people against the US Forces is mounting. The Okinawan viewpoint on the land problem is contained in the four principles outlined by the Legislative Assembly of the Ryukyu Government. They are, according to official Japanese sources:

1. There shall be no permanent use of lands through outright purchases or blanket payment of rents.

2. Appropriate rents and full compensation shall be paid for the lands presently being used.

3. Appropriate compensation shall be paid for all damages inflicted by the US Forces.

4. Unnecessary lands shall be released as soon as possible and new lands shall not be requisitioned. The problem involves not only economic factors, but also the deep-rooted religious sentiment of the Okinawan people.

Feelings ignored

Their religious attachment to their land is well known. Their ancestor worship is a strong traditional force, and it is difficult for outsiders to understand their anguish in losing the land handed down from generation to generation.

Economically, under the existing anomalous circumstances of the islands, the money received in payment for land, even if its amount is acceptable, cannot be put to advantageous use, and there remains only desolate and unsuitable tracts of land for the dispossessed people.

The Price report can be termed generally fair, in the sense that it has equally taken into consideration the desires of the Okinawan people.

It seems to have failed, however, to take into account the feelings of the Okinawans concerning the acquisition of new tracts of land.

The US sub-committee has recommended blanket payments of rents to acquire permanent land rights, a measure to which the Okinawans are most vehemently opposed. It also approved the acquisition of another 12,000 acres of land by the Marine Corps.

The Legislative Assembly of the Ryukyu Government, reflecting the strong opposition of the Okinawan people to these recommendations, promptly drew up a resolution against the report and presented it to the American

Opposition

An active opposition movement has been born with a five-man consultative committee as the nucleus. It is composed of representatives from the Legislative Assembly, Administrative Government, Committee of Heads of Cities, Towns and Villages, Committee of the Federation of Lands Used by the Military, and the Committee of the Speakers of the Assembly of Cities, Towns and Villages.

A Committee for Promoting the Settlement of the Okinawan Land Problem, organised by Okinawans residing in Japan, has petitioned the Prime Minister's Office and the Foreign Office with the resolution adopted by the Ryukyu Legislature.



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Mr. Cole's Socialism

NEWTON GARVER reviews

World Socialism Restated, by G. D. H. Cole, London, New Statesman Pamphlet, 48pp, Is. 6d.

In his polemics against the pre-Marxians, Engels made the well-known distinction between "scientific" and "utopian" Socialism, and the vast majority of Socialists ever since have called themselves "scientific" in order to escape the charge of muddle-headedness and to borrow the prestige of Science.

I have always remained unconvinced by this "scientific" Socialism. It is either insensitive or insincere, like a man who is telling a half-truth and won't admit it.

Specifically, these Marxists have a rather hard-hearted lack of sympathy with anything that is established, and tend to neglect two propositions which pacifists accept as a matter of course:

(a) that morals are an essential part of social life and human planning, and

(b) that political means are not sterile instruments to be picked up and laid down, like table knives, without reckoning consequences.

G. H. D. Cole is a different sort of Socialist. In this pamphlet he boldly labels himself "utopian" and continually reminds us of what his ideals are and how they lie at the basis of his Socialism.

In doing so he places reassuring emphasis on what the "scientific" Socialists neglect.

He elaborates not only the familiar danger that parliamentary means will degenerate into innocuous reformism, but equally the strong possibility that violent means will lead to authoritarianism—a lesson which pacifists have long been trying to impress on their fellow revolutionaries.

Throughout his pamphlet, Mr. Cole's forthright utopianism enriches his conception of both the ends and the means of Socialism, and his good sense leads him to speak with clarity and balance about such immediate concerns of Socialists as their attitude towards Communism and nationalism.

His respect for freedom and for the individual personality prevent him from ever giving unqualified support to Communism, and his internationalism foresees the limitedness of Asian, Arab and African nationalism; but he

nevertheless stands firmly apart from those who are unbending anti-Communists or internationalists, because these movements are the honest efforts of people to better themselves.

The author also balances a stringent attack on hereditary privilege with a respect for traditional British virtue. One's impression is very much that of a writer in the tradition of Mill and Bentham rather than of Marx.

Cole insists that his Socialism has remained unchanged in essence over the past fifty years,

"Socialism . . . can exist only if men can learn to treat one another fairly and kindly and not to take pleasure in inflicting pain. They are unlikely to learn such behaviour if, in their efforts to rebuild society on a better basis, they allow themselves to take pleasure in hurting those who stand in their way. A community of friends and lovers cannot be built on hatred or by relying on force and violence as the principal means of bringing it about."

G. D. H. Cole
World Socialism Restated

The old ideas, however, are always sharpened against contemporary issues.

Readers of PN will be interested that Cole writes this pamphlet as President of the International Society for Socialist Studies, which was founded at a world-wide Socialist Third Force conference in Paris this spring, and is, therefore, an outgrowth of the Third Camp conference supported by PPU and PN two years previously.

Professor Cole has long been an advocate of Third Camp Socialism, and all in all, pacifists will find much in this statement of Socialism which deserves their close attention.

For a long time Europeans looked upon the African as an inferior being whose natural function it was to serve his born superiors. Growing revolt has largely extinguished that

The impact of Western civilisation upon African tribal life played havoc with its institutions, its morals, its values and its social customs. To this fundamental revolution Africans were unable to offer any resistance, although they inwardly revolted against it.

Later, the revolt began to find expression in spasmodic resistance and later still in organised demands for political rights and social justice.

All these manifestations of unrest were met with ruthless suppression and persecution. It was highly dangerous to be an African social leader in any capacity, and still often is. Repeated warnings of seething discontent were given, but cold, bleak unreason prevailed.

The upshot was Mau Mau, a product of desperation and despair; a fact which even now, in Kenya, tends to be overlooked.

Happily an appreciable number of Europeans have seen in Mau Mau the red light, warning that the old order must go and that the wide disparity in political, social, economic and cultural rights between the two sides of the colour bar must be appreciably and rapidly reduced.

They are even ready to accept the principle of multi-racial rule in a multi-racial state.

But let us not be deceived. There is as yet little to indicate that Europeans have made or are ready to make any marked change in their human relationships across the colour bar; and that is the real test.

All the indications are that they still hold

A child's life of Gandhi

Gandhi returns to India

Last week we read how Gandhi trained his Indian friends to do ambulance work in South Africa and to become very brave, even rescuing the wounded within the firing line during the Boer War.

WHEN four more years had passed, Gandhi felt that the time had come for him to go back to India. He had done wonderful work for his people in South Africa in helping them to get their rights recognised by the Government.

Now he wanted to work for the whole of India. There was, of course, still very much to be done in South Africa, but he was leaving behind him good friends whom he had trained to work and think in his way, and they would continue the fight.

The Indians did not let him go easily, however. They made him promise that he would return within a year if they should need him, and they arranged all sorts of meetings and functions to honour his departure.

He and Kasturba were simply showered with presents, many being of gold and jewels. There

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

were lovely watches, gold chains, and diamond rings, and a wonderful necklace, all pure gold, for Kasturba.

When Gandhi saw all these presents, he was far from happy. He had served his countrymen for love, and with no thought of reward. How then, could he now accept gold and jewels.

If money was to be spent lavishly like this, should it not be spent for the good of the poor and suffering members of the community?

For such a long time now he had been teaching his followers that it was foolish and wrong to waste money on luxury when millions of Indians hardly ever got a full meal. Was he, the leader and teacher, now to accept all this richness in payment for his teaching?

Not many people would have thought in this way. The sight of so much gold would have tempted most men into forgetting their ideals. But not Gandhi. He could not sleep at all that night. In the morning he told Kasturba that all the gifts must be returned.

Kasturba would not agree. As any lady would, she wanted at least to keep her lovely necklace. If not for herself, she thought it would be nice to give it to one of her daughters-in-law when her sons married.

It took a long time to persuade her, but in the end Gandhi made her understand that people should never expect reward for their service to others. He gave all the gold and jewels to a bank, to be kept as a reserve for the Indian community.

AS soon as he came back to India again Gandhi threw himself heart and soul into Congress work. He had only been fighting for the rights of his people in South Africa, up till this time. Now he was working for the freedom and happiness of all Indians in the world.

Apart from the political struggle, he interested himself in everything that would make Indians a better, stronger, nobler people.

He studied such things as cooking, sanitation everything connected with our daily life, in

HE had not been back in India long before his second son, Manilal, became very sick with typhoid and pneumonia. The doctor said that the child's life was in danger and that he must be given chicken broth to strengthen him.

Gandhi had brought up his children to be strict vegetarians like himself, and he felt it wrong to take the life of even a single chicken, although it might save his son's life. Manilal, when questioned, said that he would do whatever his father thought right.

Gandhi prayed to God with all his strength to save his child without the necessity of chicken broth. After three days Manilal was out of danger. If we do what we believe to be right, and trust in God as Gandhi did, He will always hear our prayers.

Very soon another call came from South Africa. The Indians were again in need of their dear "Gandhibhai" (Brother Gandhi) to fight for them against the harsh, unsympathetic Government. Without hesitation, not caring about his own comfort, Gandhi set out on the long journey, leaving his family again in India.

Whilst in the midst of his political work, he never forgot that a man's first duty is towards God. He felt that he ought to study his religion well, in order to be able to follow all its teachings.

In his place many people would have said: "I have no time to read religious books. See how much work I am doing for others. God will be satisfied with that."

But Gandhi always made time for anything that he felt to be necessary.

He used to write verses from the Bhagavad Gita on strips of paper which he pasted on the wall in the bathroom.

Whilst cleaning his teeth each morning he would tend and study these verses. Soon he had thirteen chapters of the Gita by heart.

NEXT WEEK: *The new farm and the Zulu rebellion.*

Pacifism and the race problem in

AFRICA

By Wilfred Wellock

I THINK most readers will agree that Peace News is rendering a great service to the cause of world peace in exposing the nature of the racial conflict which rages in Africa, particularly in Kenya and Central Africa, where Britain is in authority.

The reaction of the British public to that exposure will reveal to the white population in those territories the uneasiness which exists here in regard to the deepening of racial conflict.

This fact is important because in both these territories ultimate power resides in the British Government, and because the white populations in them are aiming at the transference of that power to themselves. Only a live, well-informed public opinion in this country can prevent that.

The first fact to be kept in mind in regard to Africa is that self-government by Africans is advancing rapidly in the areas where Europeans cannot live permanently—as in the Sudan, Nigeria and the Gold Coast, and also in Uganda and Tanganyika.

But in Kenya, with its great plateau of rich land (the Highlands), from which native Kenyans were driven some fifty years ago for the purpose of white settlement, which used the labour of its victims to cultivate their fertile lands under conditions which embraced many elements of slavery, and also in Central Africa, where there are rich mineral deposits that are owned and controlled by Westerners or Western interests, there is a different story to tell.

REVOLT

In both these territories the burning issue is white domination versus multi-racial partnership and rule. Europeans fear the ultimate domination of the coloured races, while the latter are in open revolt against white domination.

For a long time Europeans looked upon the African as an inferior being whose natural function it was to serve his born superiors. Growing revolt has largely extinguished that

The impact of Western civilisation upon African tribal life played havoc with its institutions, its morals, its values and its social customs. To this fundamental revolution Africans were unable to offer any resistance, although they inwardly revolted against it.

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PILE OF PAMPHLETS

(political) problems of Kenya, Uganda and Tan
ganyika.

For readers who may not be familiar with them, it would have been helpful had it been possible to briefly summarise the recommendations of the Royal Commission and to provide a simple map.

CONSCRIPTION

Wales Against Conscription, Cardiff, Y Bla
Cymru, 16pp, 1s.

FOUR Welsh nationalists explain from slightly differing viewpoints their opposition to conscription. As is evidenced in a number of ways, including the parliamentary votes of their elected representatives, the people of Wales are overwhelmingly against compulsory military service, but while the twenty times her size, they have but little chance of making their will effective.

The first is a study of trade unionism in the Union of South Africa, its organisation, the laws controlling it, and the old sad story of fierce white opposition to anything that would give democratic power to the coloured peoples. The author is a Labour member of the Union Parliament whose rigorous championing of native rights has induced some wag to call him "Father Hepplestone."

In "Protectorates or Native Reserves?" Isobel Edwards surveys the origin, and the political and constitutional history of those three territories—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland—one of which is an "island" in and the others carved out of what would, by simple geographical considerations, be the Union of South Africa, but are still governed directly from the United Kingdom.

Demands for their incorporation in the Union have lately become more insistent, but with growing disapproval here of the policy of apartheid, so has British opposition to handing over the fate of another million Africans to the Dominion government.

The reflections on the Report of the Royal Commission on East Africa by a working committee set up by the African Bureau, are detailed and appear to be shrewd. They deal with the social and economic (but not the

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Letters to the Editor

What are pacifists doing?

If Reginald Reynolds, so first-class a satirist, has failed to see my sarcasm I am forced to conclude that I am, myself, no satirist! Of course he did not say anything about names ending with an "o" or an "i" or a "ski." But he did refer, as I think extremely slightly, to "stick-in-the-mud British pacifists" directly following upon great praise for Dando Dolci, Vinoba Bhava, and the Negro bus boycott in Montgomery.

The impression, in my view, was given that everyone was all right except the British.

It was not my intention to say, nor imply, that the Family Service Units were violent, nor sneer at their work. I merely said, and I repeat, that where examples of non-violent resistance are being instanced, the FSU does not come into that category, and is not specifically pacifist.

The title of Reginald Reynolds' article was, after all, *What Are Pacifists Doing?*

I do not think my request to know what is meant by "living pacifism" is answered by instancing a case of a schoolmaster who was a very good fellow and influenced for good many of his pupils.

There are, no doubt, other teachers, both male and female, who have by their own characters influenced for good those who were fortunate enough to be their pupils. That is not to say the influence was towards pacifism.

Reginald Reynolds says he was just about to catch a train for Georgia where "action counts more than sermons." Of course action counts against oppression; that is precisely my argument, I assume, however, that it was not for action but for speaking that he was himself going there.

In reply to John Banks, I did not say that non-violence ceased to be non-violence because non-pacifists take part in it; I meant that FSU was not a specifically non-violent organisation.

His remarks, therefore, about the Third Way Movement seem to be irrelevant; particularly as I have understood that the Third Way Movement at its last conference, rejected the inclusion of non-violence as part of their basis.

Perhaps I have been misinformed.

SYBIL MORRISON.

6 Apollo Place,
London, S.W.10.
Issue

RON KEATING'S pacifism is evidently a more elevated kind than mine. Mine is merely that of a war resister whose war resistance is based on a point of conscience—in my case the inability to accept organised killing or destruction.

His letter does me, however, one injustice:

I had not forgotten the need to raise the living standards of the Egyptian masses.

That my article has been reproduced by the PPU in pamphlet form may be due to the simple fact that my views happened on this occasion to be considered suitable for general non-pacifist consumption—let us say as an intermediate form of the pacifist cause.

I readily admit that if Ron Keating comes anywhere in his own life to meeting all

A CALL TO YOU RUGBY

Saturday, September 1

3.45 p.m., OPEN AIR MEETING
Brotherhood House, Castle Street

Speakers: Sybil Morrison
Stuart Morris

7.00 p.m., FORUM AT BROTHERHOOD HOUSE
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Panel: Mr. James Johnson, MP
Brian Groombridge
Sybil Morrison
Stuart Morris

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DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, TIME, PLACE (HALL, STREET); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, September 7
JULIET 7.30 p.m.; Bond St. Annual General Mtg. Peace Pledge Union.

Saturday, September 15
LONDON, N.W.1: London Area Garden Party, King Alfred School, North End Rd. Peace Pledge Union.

Sunday, September 16
BELLINGHAM 8 p.m.; St. Dunstan's Hall, Brains Trust on Peace and War. Rev. Anthony Bailey, MA (A.P.E.D.), Ronald Maloney, BA (Fellowship Party) and others. Fellowship Party.

LONDON, W.C.2: 2.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., W.C.1. Conf. for prospective conscientious objectors. Speaker, discussion, tea. Society of Friends.

Saturday, October 6
CROYDON 6 p.m.; Adult School Hall, Surrey Area Social Children's Tea Party and Concourse; stalls and evening entertainment. Peace Pledge Union.

EPSOM: 7.30 p.m.; Myers Hall, Epsom Hall, Ashley Rd. "Any Questions?" Panel: Ritchie Calder, CBE, James L. Henderson, Sybil Morrison, Minnie Palmer, E. C. Redhead, MP, Chair, Austin J. Rees. Subject: "International Relations." Epsom and District Peace Fellowship, 35 Culverhay, Ashford, Surrey.

Saturday, October 20
CAMBRIDGE: Pacifist Demonstration. PPU.

Saturday, October 27
LONDON, W.C.1: 6-9 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Meeting of Area and Group representatives. PPU.

Sunday, October 28
LONDON, W.C.1: 10 a.m.-12.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Meeting of Area and Group representatives. PPU.

Saturday, November 3
LONDON, W.1: Leigh Ho. Ch. Bazaar, Religion Commission, Peace Pledge Union.

Church and war

From L. J. HALE

THE history of the Church's attitude to war was traced by the Rev. Albert G. Erey, MA, BD, when he addressed the Nottingham Fellowship of Reconciliation group recently.

He said that the paucity of any direct reference in the New Testament made difficult the task of those who would arrive at any judgment, from a Christian standpoint, on any social question, whether pacifist, non-pacifist opponent of slavery and so forth.

He asserted that the early Christian Church was not specifically pacifist, but was a world-denying Church, and so refused the state its military and other services.

During three hundred years this gradually gave way to a world-affirming attitude, until by the time of Constantine the army was in a great degree Christian.

Mr. Erey traced this attitude through the Middle Ages and the Crusades, through the land-owning Bishops until the formation of the Anabaptists and the Quakers, and other groups in a determined effort to break with war, power and riches, and develop the principle of Christian love which had already restrained the excesses of war.

MR LENNOX-BOYD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, has stated that the time has now come to make certain changes in the Constitution of Gibraltar, and he is taking an early opportunity of laying before the Queen in Council the orders necessary to give effect to them.

The changes to be made were the appointment of one more unofficial member to the Executive Council, an increase in the number of elected members of the Legislative Council from five to seven, and provision for the appointment of an independent speaker of the Legislative Council—it being understood that in view of the possible difficulty of finding a qualified and independent person for this office, the Governor would continue to preside over the Council when the office of Speaker was vacant.

Should the Legislative Council so decide, he would also be agreeable to the reduction in the number of nominated members of the City Council from five to four, and the removal of the ex-officio member from the Council.

A MINORITY REPORT

Wallace was like that and that the Society of Friends makes allowance for him.

That would be authoritative for Peter.

It would be impossible to refer to or even catalogue the names of the unofficial representatives of the satellite bodies which encircle pacifism.

What stuck out a mile was that everyone said NO to war.

Many pacifists think that only moral issues are relevant and neglect problems of economic assistance.

Instead of isolating themselves, they could help to formulate a common platform for a constructive peace policy by supporting the suggestion of the Co-operative Party and Co-op. Women's Guild (PN, May 11) and demanding that the British Government should call a Conference with the US and USSR Governments to reduce armaments and help under-developed areas, including Egypt.

Good deeds will open hearts—and keep also the Suez Canal open.

FRANCIS RONA.

Archbishops and hanging

In his comment on the House of Lords debate on Capital Punishment, Stuart Morris writes:

"Neither of the two Archbishops are abolitionists, and they only gave qualified approval of the Measure at that stage in the hope that the Bill would be subsequently amended and modified."

In fairness to the Archbishop of York it should be stated that when it was suggested that he had "certain reservations to make", he intervened to say,

"I said, without any reservation at all, that it was my intention to vote for the Second Reading of this Bill, and that I desired its passage into law . . ."

I do not know precisely what views one must hold to be an "abolitionist", but Dr. Ramsey did say,

"Very perplexed as to the weight of force of argument on the one side and on the other, I have come to think that the abolitionists' case is by far the stronger . . ."

Stuart Morris has, I think, indicated a view that was peculiar to the Archbishop of Canterbury among the Lords Spiritual.

C. DOUGLAS STANTON.

56 Headingly Avenue, Leeds, 6.

In view of the many claims on our very limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters under 250 words.

And there were some lovely boys and girls at the Conference. Both children and parents deserve special commendation for making such a pleasant contribution to the life of the conference.

Consideration of the children raised the problem of the right to strike when Margery Jones spoke on Pacifism and the Home.

COME, SEE

There was a typically Anglo-Saxon murmur of approval when a native, asked to speak on Pacifism and Politics, made a more than passing reference to self-determination for Wales.

It would be impossible in a short digest to give an adequate idea of the innumerable discussions, heated discourses, witty remarks, excursions into the surrounding country, and the unsurpassed friendliness of the hotel staff.

The whole thing was admirably organised. Here was freedom without license.

Who organised it? Whose was the guiding hand? Stuart Morris. Yes: yet he appeared as one of us: he was seen to laugh on more than one occasion.

He was a walking parable of the ideal Kingdom: he was Servant of all.

Laugh! How we laughed!

But we could have been so much more happy if we had known that all lovely boys and girls throughout the world were to be exempt from military service; and that statesmen were, at last, really stretching themselves to negotiate wholesale disarmament.

The PPU Summer Conference

Copies of this photograph can be had on request, half-plate size 1s. 6d., postcard size 9d., profits to PPU Headquarters Fund. Orders to PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

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Come next year to Borth. Never mind the weather. It could hardly have been worse; some bathed in the sea to get warm. But, you scarcely noticed the weather.

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Could not a free, unified and unarmed Germany be a step to world disarmament?

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SITUATIONS VACANT

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Suez: our lost opportunity

Nasser, and up to the present day neither of them has shown any sign of being ready to concede as much as the Egyptian President, with every legal right on his side, has already conceded by the statement that he would negotiate on the basis of a consultative international committee.

They have exaggerated the question of the "nationality" of the Suez Canal tenfold, in sheer disregard of the fact that Egypt's own interest dictates the highest possible efficiency and that the one Egyptian-imposed ban on transit through the Canal (on ships and goods for Israel) has been tolerated by them for eight years and was, moreover, imposed before Nasser came to power.

CHANCE FOR LEADERSHIP

Even at the conference, they have (wisely) said next to nothing about this one instance of discrimination, the reason being that it did not run counter to certain policies connected with oil requirements.

But they have said a great deal about Egyptian nationalism and Nasser's ambitions to become the leader of a united Arab world.

Prestige has been their constant preoccupation and main motive, but not in the meaning which any pacifist can lend to the term.

Britain for the sake of influence over the Middle-East, and France mainly on account of her North African troubles, interpret prestige as meaning a reputation for great power—sufficient power to make it inadvisable for anyone to displease them seriously.

Neither of them really possesses that degree of power any longer, but in running after its appearance they have lost—and particularly Britain—the opportunity with which the whole incident presented her to take a great stride forward towards the moral leadership which, in view of Russia's and America's more exuberant youth—should now be our main objective in a fast changing world.

For the whole Suez Canal trouble started with an act by President Nasser which, in spite of its undoubted legality, was outstandingly wrong in the manner of its execution; and was, moreover, announced in a most aggressive speech.

If that had been answered by the British Government by acceptance of the legal position, with plain but courteous insistence on the legitimate reservations entailed by the new situation and a call for a negotiating conference sponsored by a neutral or the United Nations, together with a declaration that it would have nothing to do with the outbreak of jingoism in France, there would have been a gain in prestige, and in *real* prestige, not in a mere reputation to gain ends by the ability to frighten.

NO HURRY NEEDED

Instead, President Nasser's aggressiveness, for which there was the mitigating excuse of the sudden withdrawal of the Aswan Dam help offer, was answered in language and by action rarely experienced since the days of Palmerston. And even that has not "come off."

Whatever the official outcome of the London Conference may be, the whole world knows by this time that not only most of the smaller countries' delegations but also Mr. Foster Dulles are not in favour of the methods advocated by France and Britain.

It also knows that the London Conference has certainly not come up to British and French hopes and that, even within the United Kingdom, public opinion and feeling has been moving steadily in the direction of greater moderation than the Prime Minister and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd want to display.

In short, even in the power politics meaning of the term prestige, France and Britain cannot register the gain for which they had hoped.

And if they should still be obstinate enough to go ahead with military measures without further negotiation, they will run the risk of being called before the Security Council on a charge of aggression.

DELAINE

* FROM PAGE TWO

her in his car to the nearest hospital—the African Hospital.

They stood—my friend supporting the shocked woman—in a corridor for some minutes while a European sister was called.

When she arrived she took one look at the European woman and blithely informed the Good Samaritan that "this is an African Hospital—we can't take Europeans here."

The bewildered crash victim was then driven some four miles to the European Hospital.

And so we go on in this crazy Black and White Federation of ours.

SELLING PN

THE Peace News circulation drive is increasing in intensity.

In London recently, Mrs. Winifred Greenfield, who sells week-by-week in Charing Cross Road, phoned PN office urgently requesting extra copies. She had sold over 40 of the 60 copies she has each week, in ONE MORNING. She ordered a total of 132, and at the last report had sold 120.

In Swansea (South Wales) during August Bank Holiday Week Doris Robinson sold 70 on the doorstep in an area of Swansea that in the past had not produced very good results, Doris is hoping to do even better.

Plans announced last week for the door-to-door campaign to commence in Leytonstone on Saturday, October 13 are going ahead. Would volunteers please contact PN office as soon as possible.

RON KEATING,
Sales Organiser.

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SYBIL MORRISON ‘SOUND AND FURY’

The idea of war to gain our ends, however right and lawful, is distasteful to the British people. Our military preparations have not been made to precipitate war, but to ensure that if a situation arose in which our vital interests were interfered with we would have the means ready to retort. . . . If we are resolved and ready and strong time is more on our side than his [Col. Nasser].

Sunday Times, August 19, 1956.

no fresh thought that would need a different phraseology, some pointed turn of expression to convey a new idea.

To declare that military preparations are not made in order to precipitate a war is empty of any real meaning, since no one in this nuclear-weapon day and age would deliberately take an action that could not fail to set the whole world alight.

Nevertheless, it is these same military preparations, however well disguised as a mere means of "retort," which will in the end be the means of making war.

"Playing with fire" is a mild pastime compared with the utter irresponsibility of playing with the weapons of modern war.

To be resolved and strong has a fine sound, but if it means, as it undoubtedly does, resolution in place of reason, and strength in place of justice, it is nothing but an empty phrase, "full of sound and fury," belonging to a past age, the echoes of which clamour so loudly, apparently, in the ears of statesmen, that they merely repeat them, like the claptrap of a parrot, who always picks up the most worthless words from the many he hears.

Colonel Nasser will not be proved right or wrong by going to war, any more than he will be proved right or wrong if he should compromise now before this sword brandishing, swashbuckling kind of talk.

It is in fact just the kind of talk which is terrifyingly likely to provoke rather than to conciliate. But conciliation has, unfortunately, taken to itself the same meaning as "appeasement"; it would almost seem as though the words of peace, indeed the very meaning of peace, had become so altered as to have lost its true sense.

"Peace" no longer means a quiet state of mind, a condition of harmony and concord and co-operation with others; a tranquillity of spirit and mind and heart, in which hatred and war could have no possible place. On the contrary, like the words "appeasement" and "conciliation" it has become degraded to mean something cowardly and traitorous.

The very emptiness of the words poured out in regard to the Suez Canal, the tiny, clanking sound of the swords loosened in their scabbards, have betrayed the hollow bankruptcy of present day statesmanship.

What is needed is a great moral lead, an inspired direction away from the slogans and shoutings and the ancient war-cries, the drum-banging and the bomb explosions, towards an understanding of the world's desperate need for the abandonment of war.

Words may have lost their meaning, but actions have not; there is a great opportunity here to prove the real meaning of peace; let us hope it will not be entirely lost.

SUPPRESSED

● FROM PAGE ONE

act of suppression has been criticisms of the policy of the French Government in regard to Algeria that were published in *Le Libertaire* for June 7, the opportunity has been taken to suppress the whole available stocks of the journal.

"The policy that the French Government is pursuing in Algeria—a policy which is a denial of the Socialist conceptions avowed by leading members of your Government—inspires the condemnation of liberal and progressive opinion throughout the world.

"It would be surprising if in France, with its strong tradition of liberty, there were not to be found voices to echo this condemnation.

"We believe that *Le Libertaire* is giving expression to views widely held among the French people and we deplore that a Government under the leadership of Socialists finds itself constrained to take so many steps which threaten liberty of opinion in France and of which the most recent is the suppression of *Le Libertaire*."

Briefly

Syrian Customs officials last week turned back nine RAF 25-ton tanker lorries carrying oil from Jordan to Cyprus, because "Customs regulations prohibit the transit of war materials." This was not related to the Suez Crisis.

Conscientious objectors elected in the recent municipal elections included Alex Clarke (Hull) and Hugh Brock and E. L. Edwards (Stoke Newington—the London borough in which Peace News office is situated).

the suggestions which they had put forward, no statement should be issued beyond the fact that the delegation from the PPU had met the Under-Secretary and been courteously received.

HIROSHIMA DAY OBSERVANCES

From a Correspondent

THE Southend and District (Essex)

Peace Council joined by peace workers from East Ham, Walthamstow and Ilford, held a Poster Parade through the main thoroughfare of Southend-on-Sea on August 11 in observance of Hiroshima Day.

The procession was headed by a Drum and Scots Pipers' Band, the effect of which was quite magical.

In previous poster parades, the people generally seemed quite indifferent to the peace testimony, but with the band at the head the streets were lined with crowds standing stock still, listening to the strains of music, and carefully reading the peace slogans on the posters.

The Rev. Edwin Foley (Chairman of the Council) and the Rev. Abraham Cutts, a local Baptist Minister, followed the band with a large banner inscribed with the name of the Peace Council, other poster parades following.

HECKLERS STOPPED

An open-air meeting on the Sea Front followed, presided over by the Rev. J. W. Lowe, M.A., a local vicar, with powerful and effective addresses by the Rev. Dr. Bryan Thomas, and Sybil Morrison.

Dr. Thomas urged that the Suez and other international problems be settled by negotiation, and not by the evil violence of war with probable nuclear weapons, destructive of the race.

Some heckling in the audience showed that some were in favour of stopping, or trying to stop Nasser in his plans by resort to war.

Sybil Morrison, the next speaker, said she was shocked to find that some people were in favour of calling up thousands of men. For what? To blind, maim, cripple and slay millions of human beings, which she contended was an immoral thing and would not prove who was right, but simply who was the strongest.

From Jim Peck

In a downpour of rain, New York pacifists marked Hiroshima Day with poster walk at the Japanese Consulate. Their placards said: "We support Japanese Pleas to Stop H-Bomb Tests in the Pacific", "Our Condolences to the Japanese People on the 11th Anniversary of Hiroshima" and "End War—the Only Way to Insure 'No More Hiroshimas'!"

During the demonstration, Dorothy Day, A. J. Muste and Bayard Rustin, representing the Catholic Worker Movement and the War Resisters' League, delivered to Consul General Jun Tsuchiya a message for transmission to the people of Japan.

"We wish to express to the Japanese people our deep sorrow that the United States began this nuclear arms race by dropping A-bombs on Japanese cities in 1945," the message said.

"We want the people of Japan to know that we will do all we can to urge our fellow Americans to petition our government to stop making and testing nuclear weapons.

"We fully support recent Japanese pleas to halt H-bomb testing in the Pacific. We hope that the people of Japan will continue their protests against these tests and that they will take a firm stand against war itself."

TRADE UNION CONGRESS 1956

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arranged by Labour Peace Fellowship

Panel:

Walter Monslow, MP Reg Moss, MP
Bob Edwards, MP Jim Mortimer
(Gen. Sec., Chemicals Editor A.E.S.D.
Workers' Union) "The Draughtsman"
Chairman: Victor Yates, MP
Questions, Views, invited

Monday, September 3 at 7.45 p.m.

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